

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 254810

EXDIS FOR GEN HAIG PLEASE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT MBFR VIENNA 528 SENT ACTION SECSTATE OCT 24.  
QUOTE S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0528

EXDIS

NOFORN

DEPT PLEASE PASS DEFENSE, ACDA AND NSC

E O 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR  
SUBJ: MBFR: NEW SOVIET MOVE ON EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 24, US REP AND DEP REP HAD DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV AT SOVIET INVITATION. TARASOV INFORMED US REPS OF SOVIET INTENTION TO TABLE NEW EASTERN PROPOSAL ON EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA IN INFORMAL SCHEDULED FOR THE FOLLOWING DAY, OCTOBER 25. ESSENCE OF SOVIET PROPOSAL IS THAT EAST IS PREPARED TO SUBMIT TOTAL FIGURE FOR PERSONNEL IN MAJOR UNITS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT BUT NOT TO SUBMIT DATA ON STRENGTHS OF INDIVIDUAL MAJOR UNITS.

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IT IS ALSO PREPARED TO EXCHANGE DATA ON TOTAL OF PERSONNEL OTHER THAN THOSE OF MAJOR UNITS FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT AND TO AGREE THAT WEST WOULD PRESENT A THIRD TOTAL, THAT OF PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS AND THAT THIS TOTAL WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE BROKEN DOWN ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS. END SUMMARY

2. TARASOV SAID A USEFUL PRACTICE HAD ARISEN BETWEEN US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS OF INFORMING EACH OTHER BEFOREHAND OF MAJOR STEPS EITHER SIDE INTENDED TO TAKE WHICH HE WISHED TO

CONTINUE ON PRESENT OCCASION. THE SOVIETS HAD GIVEN CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT AS TO HOW TO GIVE NEW IMPETUS TO THE DISCUSSION OF DATA. THEY HAD COME TO THE FIRM CONCLUSION THAT THE WESTERN JULY 15 PROPOSAL WOULD DIVERT DISCUSSION TOO FAR TOWARDS DISCUSSION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF FORCES. HOWEVER, SOVIETS HAD DECIDED TO MAKE A COMPROMISE STEP, WHICH THEY BELIEVED WAS A MAJOR ONE, TO MEET THE WESTERN POSITION. WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS HAD IN MIND PUTTING FORWARD IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF OCTOBER 25 A POSITION ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:

(1) EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO SUBMIT FOR EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT A FIGURE GIVING THE OVERALL STRENGTH OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR FORMATIONS AND SECOND, A FIGURE GIVING THE TOTAL NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT OTHER THAN THE PERSONNEL OF MAJOR FORMATIONS.

(2) EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WOULD IN ADDITION GIVE A TOTAL FIGURE FOR THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER FOR EACH COUNTRY.

(3) THE EAST WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED NOT TO INSIST THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS DISCLOSE THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS AND WERE  
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PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT IF THE WEST WISHED TO SUBMIT A SINGLE OVERALL FIGURE FOR THESE PERSONNEL WITHOUT DIVIDING IT INTO NATIONAL COMPONENTS. SINCE THE EAST DID NOT HAVE A MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS ON ITS SIDE, IT WOULD NOT SUBMIT FIGURES OF THIS KIND AND THE ACTION WOULD NOT BE RECIPROCAL BUT RATHER THE EAST WAS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THIS UNILATERAL STEP AS A COMPROMISE ON ITS PART.

(4) THE EAST ALSO BELIEVED THAT EXAMINATION OF THE REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCY WOULD BE MORE PRODUCTIVE IF, IN ADDITION, PARTICIPANTS WOULD EXCHANGE DATA ABOUT THE PERCENTAGE OF MANNING LEVELS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT COUNTRY.

3. TARASOV SAID HE WISHED TO REPEAT THAT THIS MOVE WAS VERY SERIOUS AND IMPORTANT STEP FOR THE SOVIETS. IN THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS, IT WAS THE FIRST CASE IN WHICH WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES WOULD SUBMIT NOT ONLY NATIONAL FIGURES BUT FIGURES BROKEN DOWN INTO PERSONNEL OF MAJOR FORMATIONS AND OF OTHER FORMATIONS. US REPS WOULD NOTE THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSAL DID NOT PROVIDE FOR EXCHANGE OF DATA ON INDIVIDUAL MAJOR FORMATIONS. ALL FOUR OF THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WERE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE SUBMISSION OF DATA ON MAJOR FORMATIONS WAS NOT POSSIBLE AND NOT EXPEDIENT FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. TARASOV SAID HE WISHED TO STATE FRANKLY THAT, IF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, THEN THE WEST SHOULD NOT PRESS THE EAST

ON EXCHANGE OF DATA ON PERSONNEL IN INDIVIDUAL MAJOR FORMATIONS. WHEN US REP AND OTHER WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD INDICATED TO THE SOVIETS THAT EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL FIGURES WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST FOR POLITICAL REASONS, THE SOVIETS COULD NOT AGREE AS TO THE SUBSTANCE, BUT HAD TRIED TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING AND NOT TO PRESS ON THIS ISSUE. NOW, IT WAS THE TURN OF THE US AND OF THE WEST NOT TO PRESS ON THE ISSUE OF PROVIDING FIGURES FOR THE STRENGTHS OF INDIVIDUAL MAJOR UNITS.

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4. US REP SAID HE APPRECIATED THE ADVANCE NOTICE OF THIS PENDING MOVE. HE THOUGHT IT WAS A GOOD PRACTICE TO CONTINUE THIS TRADITION. FOR THE SAKE OF CLARITY, HE WISHED TO UNDERSTAND TWO POINTS BETTER. TARASOV HAD SAID THE WEST COULD SUBMIT A TOTAL NUMBER FOR ITS PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS AS A SEPARATE FIGURE AND THAT THE WARSAW TREATY PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT SUBMIT A COMPARABLE FIGURE. US REP ASSUMED THAT THE SOVIETS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS WOULD UNDER THE WEST'S ORIGINAL PROPOSAL BE DEDUCTED IN ADVANCE FROM THE TOTAL PERSONNEL OF EACH COUNTRY. IN OTHER WORDS, THAT THEY WOULD NOT APPEAR TWICE, ONCE UNDER NATIONAL FIGURES AND AGAIN UNDER THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS. TARASOV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD IT IN EXACTLY THE SAME WAY AND THAT THIS CONFORMED TO THE PRESENT EASTERN PROPOSAL.

5. US REP SAID THE SECOND POINT HE WISHED TO MAKE WAS THAT SOME AIRMEN AS WELL AS GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS. TARASOV SAID THAT, SPEAKING FRANKLY, THE SOVIETS HAD NOT THOUGHT OF THIS. WHEN THE WEST HAD STARTED TALKING ABOUT THIS SUBJECT, THE EAST HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT THE WEST DID NOT WISH TO GIVE NATIONAL FIGURES BUT SOVIETS HAD NOT THOUGHT OF DIVIDING PERSONNEL OF MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR. BUT THIS WAS AN ISSUE WHICH COULD BE DEALT WITH LATER.

6. US REPS ASKED WHY THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY DID NOT INTEND TO TAKE A PARALLEL APPROACH TO DIVIDING THE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT BETWEEN PERSONNEL OF MAJOR FORMATIONS AND OTHERS. TARASOV SAID THE EAST HAD NOT TAKEN THIS ACTION BECAUSE THE WEST WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS AIR FORCES. US REP SAID HE ASSUMED FROM THE PRESENTATION JUST MADE BY TARASOV THAT THE CONCEPT OF TABLING AVERAGE MANNING FIGURES WAS A MATTER  
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WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED LATER AND DID NOT HAVE TO BE SETTLED ALONG WITH THE METHOD OF HOW TO EXCHANGE DATA. WAS THIS CORRECT? TARASOV REPLIED THAT THE EAST WAS NOT TYING THE TWO PROPOSALS TOGETHER ALTHOUGH IT BELIEVED THAT DISCUSSION OF THE

PERCENTAGE MANNING LEVELS COULD BE HELPFUL TO PARTICIPANTS. IN ANY EVENT, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE NOT PROPOSING TO SUBMIT PERCENTAGE MANNING LEVELS FROM THE OUTSET OF THE DATA EXCHANGE BUT IF NECESSARY WHEN DISCUSSING SPECIFIC NATIONAL FORCES SUCH AS THOSE OF THE US AND USSR. US REP SAID IT WAS CLEAR FROM THIS POINT THAT THE EAST WAS NOT ASKING A PRESENT COMMITMENT FROM THE WEST ON MANNING DATA AND CONSIDERED THE ISSUE OF AVERAGE MANNING AS SOMETHING THAT COULD BE ADDRESSED AT A LATER STAGE. TARASOV SAID THIS WAS CORRECT.

7. US REP ASKED TARASOV WHAT DIVIDING LINE THE EAST HAD IN MIND BETWEEN PERSONNEL IN MAJOR UNITS AND REMAINING PERSONNEL AS REGARDS EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT. TARASOV INDICATED THAT ONE REASON EAST HAD NOT LIKED THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGING THE PERSONNEL OF INDIVIDUAL MAJOR FORMATIONS WAS THAT THE BASKETS THE WEST WAS TALKING ABOUT WERE NOT EQUIVALENT SINCE THE WEST WOULD BE IN AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE STRENGTHS OF THE FRG TERRITORIAL FORCES WOULD NOT BE LISTED UNDER THE CORPS-SIZE WESTERN UNITS ALTHOUGH THEY WERE MILITARILY IMPORTANT, BUT WOULD BE IN THE SECOND CATEGORY. BUT IN ANY EVENT THERE WAS NO PRESENT ISSUE OF WHICH UNIT SHOULD BE IN ONE BASKET AND WHICH IN ANOTHER BECAUSE IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO DISCUSS THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE FORCES. THE ISSUE OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE WOULD ARISE ONLY IN ONE CONTEXT, DIVIDING GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL FROM AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. THE ANSWER TO US REP'S QUESTION WAS THAT THE EAST HAD ACCEPTED THE WESTERN CONCEPT AS A METHOD OF DIVIDING PERSONNEL IN MAJOR UNITS FROM OTHER PERSONNEL. IN OTHER WORDS, THE EAST PROPOSED THAT EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT PRESENT A TOTAL FOR THE PERSONNEL IN CORPS ON THE WESTERN SIDE AND THE EAST TOTALS FOR PERSONNEL IN ARMIES OR THEIR EQUIVALENTS, INCLUDING PERSONNEL SUBORDINATED TO MILITARY DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS OF EACH  
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EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT. AS TO DIVIDING AIR FORCE PERSONNEL BETWEEN MAJOR UNITS AND OTHERS, THE SOVIETS CONSIDERED THAT THE WEST WAS NOT SO INTERESTED IN AIR FORCE PERSONNEL SO THIS COULD BE CONSIDERED LATER. FOR THE MOMENT, EASTERN REPS WOULD SAY THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION ROUGHLY ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY THE WEST.

8. US REP SAID HE WAS APPRECIATIVE OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO FIND A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. US DEP REP COMMENTED THAT, HOWEVER, HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY WITHOUT COMPARISON OF STRENGTHS OF SOME INDIVIDUAL MAJOR UNITS. TARASOV SAID EASTERN REFUSAL TO TABLE DATA ON INDIVIDUAL UNITS WAS AN ABSOLUTELY FIRM POSITION.

9. US REP SAID HE ALSO APPRECIATED SOVIET EFFORT TO ADVANCE THIS NEW PROPOSAL IN A TIMELY WAY. AT FIRST HEARING, HE COULD SAY THAT IT CLEARLY DID MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AND THAT HE PERSONALLY FOUND IT WORTH

CONSIDERING, BUT THAT HE WAS NOT SURE WHAT THE REACTION OF  
OTHER ALLIES WOULD BE, GIVEN THE FACT THAT IT HAD BEEN HARD WORK  
TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVIOUS WESTERN PROPOSAL.

10. US REP WILL BRIEF UK AND BELGIAN REPS, WHO ARE ALLIED  
PARTICIPANTS IN OCTOBER 25 INFORMAL, ON ABOVE PRIOR TO  
BEGINNING OF INFORMAL AND WILL INFORM AHG IN MEETING OCTOBER 26  
THAT HE RECEIVED ADVANCE NOTICE FROM THE SOVIETS OF THE PROPOSAL  
EAST MADE IN OCTOBER 25 INFORMAL. RESOR UNQUOTE VANCE

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**Type:** TE  
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